C 173 and that the people in the mountains are the slaves of the Allouagues
P 174 who fled to the mountains and bred there. The result is that now they
C [547] only rarely show mercy to male slaves, but rather they kill and eat
214] them. The reason they are white may be because of the cold.

C 162 Regarding their appearance, the Caribs are of good stature and well-
C proportioned, strong, robust, usually fat, and healthy. They are not
[309] at all deformed except that several are flat-nosed, because their
mothers flattened their foreheads and noses at birth. Their natural
C color is a very bronzed olive. They seem redder because of the
[302] annatto [rocou or urucu] they redden themselves with every day. They
all have black hair and cannot tolerate red or blond hair. Very few
of them are bald, and they make fun of those who are. They are no
C more thieving than the French, and even less so.

C 157 As for their temperament, they are all melancholic, sad, and
somber; and their faces show it. They rarely speak if not spoken to.
For savages they are not too stupid. They are curious about and very
skillful in the things they apply themselves to, such as making beds
and baskets, fishing, hunting, and shooting the bow and arrow. They
climb swiftly and nimbly, jump and [47] swim, and would undoubted-
ly be capable of greater things.

A young man who was a captive among them told them some story
from the Holy Scripture; they questioned him about it and conceived
doubts that were not without point.

They are rather generous among themselves and give each other
what they have; in like fashion they ask freely. They do not act in
this way with us, the French, because they give us nothing and are
always asking for something and are not discouraged by a refusal.

They are not naturally cruel, except toward their enemies. They
are dangerous when intoxicated and fight among themselves, but out-
side of that they are easy to get along with.

They are extremely lazy and would rather eat less and work less.
They scarcely think of tomorrow and stock no provisions except
manioc and sweet potatoes which they plant in season. Very often
they find themselves short. They care for neither gold, silver, nor
C precious stones.

462 They have their work divided between the men and women. Their
honor is offended if they are not esteemed for what they think they
are. The men never touch the ordinary work of women, believing
that they would degenerate.

They separate the back from the front by a part which goes from temple to temple, leaving two small moustaches at the two temples. They gather all the rest behind the head and let it hang down their back. When they go somewhere, they tuck it up behind the head very neatly and tie it with cords of cotton reddened with annatto, at the end of which is a small tassel or a woman's thimble with white glass beads. Some add to that a little fine white cotton which they spread on the bundle of their hair, with different-colored feathers which they stick in. Some also make, from the same material as their baskets, a form of crown which is colored and adorned with tufts of feathers all around, above and below, while others wear a form of headband. Still others make bonnets of the same material and wear them for fear of the cold or other inconveniences. But usually they are bareheaded.

The women comb the men's hair and grease it with oil to make it shine and become blacker. This is the first thing they do when they are going somewhere.

They do not permit their slaves to wear long hair. They singe the hairs of their legs and arms. They do not wear beards. And it is one of their perpetual amusements, when they have the leisure, to pluck out the hairs of their beard one by one with a knife. They pierce their ears, the cartilage of the nose between the nostrils, and the lower lip, to attach pendants of various sorts.

They redden all of their body with annatto. Sometimes they make themselves all black with genipa. At their great drinking parties they have themselves painted black as a Moor in a particular fashion. They most often use annatto because it also serves to keep the sun from burning them and protects them [35] from the sharpness of the sea water.

They sometimes wear large necklaces of white glass beads; sometimes they wear at their neck the wings of various birds which they let dangle over their shoulders and on their stomach. Others wear necklaces made of the teeth of cats, agoutis, or of the caïcouni [caiconchi], which is believed to be the ounce (?). Most of them wear a whistle at their necks, often made from the bones of an enemy.

They also wear scarves of corded cotton, reddened with annatto, in the form of a cross, before and behind. The scarves are sometimes made from white glass beads. With these beads, they also

846 as if with a knife, until blood comes. Then the father is rubbed all over with spiced water which causes him great suffering. He is sometimes so weak from the fast and from this bleeding that he has to be led away by the hand. While the others get drunk at his expense, he continues to fast [60] for several more days. When the fast is over he does not eat, however, any birds or fish—except crabs, and they must be females—while his children are still feeble and weakly.

846 751 This faster gave Father Raymond very good reasons for all this. It is because, he said, the infants would have stomach aches or defective members, depending on which animals their fathers ate. They would have, for example, a long, round snout if the father ate an eel; small, round eyes if he ate a parrot. (For this same reason they never eat manatees, for fear their children will have small, round eyes like this large fish.) They would have crooked legs if the father ate pigs, and so forth for the other animals.

826 We will add here in passing this amusing fact: there is a type of carangid, which is a good fish with a slightly curved backbone. When they eat this fish, they take great care not to throw the bones carelessly away; they deposit them on the ground very softly for fear they may become hunchbacked and are astonished that the French make fun of this.

● 308 859 The women, having given birth, press the forehead of their infant with their hand in order to flatten it. That is the reason they have broad foreheads. When the infants sleep in the daytime, the women hold them so that their feet are on one of the mother's knees, while the head, which she continues to press with her hand, is on the other. At night, they hold the infants to their side, with the result that being accustomed to sleep so warmly, the child cries dreadfully if the mother moves ever so little away from its side.

At the end of fifteen days or three weeks, they invite a sort of godfather or godmother who pierces the ears, nose, and lower lip of the infant and cuts its hair in front and gives it its name. They, in exchange, rub his head and neck with oil. [sic] The mothers never wrap up their children when they go somewhere. They carry them under the arm in a little sling of cotton which they pass over the shoulder in the fashion of a scarf.

852 When the child is one or two years old, the father gives [61] a feast called elétoan [elétoüac] at which the child's hair is completely

551 guests at the drinking party said, "I desire to be named, name me." Then the one in front of him laughter and shouted "Hello, so and so." Captain Baron burst into roaring laughter, and he opened his basket and brought out a package of glass beads and rewarded in this way the honor that had been paid to him. [221] The mothers do not lack
864 tender affection for their children, who while young are reluctant to leave their mother's breast during the day or even during the night. It is miraculous that the mothers do not smother them when they are drunk after the drinking parties, although I never heard tell of such an accident while I was among them. If their husbands leave them, the wives keep all the children, and do not give the husband any unless forced to do so, for when the children grow up they become a source of support and subsistence. [282]

302 All the Caribs, men and women, have the same hair style. In
● 304 order that this hair style is made possible, soon after the child is born a woman is chosen who kneads the head to make it larger at the top and smooths the forehead to be sloping down to the eyes. She flattens the forehead as well as the head, for they think that their beauty depends upon this. All the hair on the front of the head falls in front and is cut as it is done for small girls in France. The side hair covers only the ears, and both men and women let the rest of their hair fall on the back of the head. The mother, for almost two years, sits down during the day and puts one of her child's legs on one of her thighs with its head on her other thigh. When the child is asleep she opens her right hand and puts it on the child's forehead. She leans her left elbow on it and reclines her own head against it. She sleeps in this way with the child in order that the flattening persists. Because this is done they have big eyes which protrude from their heads. I have not noticed that this would cause their flat noses. [145]

355 The Carib women take a child by the hand and lift it high off the ground or from a hammock without worrying about hurting it. The child according to the habit which he has been taught places his bent left knee on the side of his mother, leaving the other foot hanging. The mother grasps him under the right arm and carries him in this way on a short trip. But if she should be traveling far she has a small cotton hammock which she puts around her neck and hangs on one side in which she carries the child. [311] As soon as the children are strong enough, their mothers put them in the middle of the yard where they have cleared out the stones. Here the children play, roll in the dust,

252 The great earthen pots in which the Caribs make their ouicou are called canálli or canari. The ouicou which has fermented is sifted and put into pots called chamácou and taóiotta. They are filled and put before guests instead of ordinary pots. Such great pots may hold the volume of twenty to thirty ordinary pots, or they may hold less according to the number of people served. The roûara pot is used to cook sweet potatoes. The iáligali pot is used to roast fish. There is a fire underneath and it has no bottom, being placed on some stones. In order to have some draft it is narrow at the top. Some little sticks are placed across the mouth on which they put fish which cooks slowly, the heat being retained within the pot. [107] They use three rocks to support a pot when they put it on the fire. [350] The boutéicha is an earthen jar. [94] The boutalli has the shape of a dish on which the French women dry their collars, and they have retained its name. It is made of baked earth and is placed on three rocks at a height from the ground of half a foot or more, with a smokeless blaze underneath. Having warmed it up, manioc flour is poured on it and cooked. This is the Carib oven. [93] They cover the mouth of a pot when they burn gum under it to blacken it in order that the smoke sticks to the vessel. [62]

The Carib grill is made with four forked sticks planted into the ground with traverse sticks across. It has a great fire underneath. The Carib word for grill is arîbelet. [52]

9. Dress and Ornaments

291 If their nakedness is shocking, their carefulness prevents as much as it can the unruled movements of a corrupted nature from appearing. Furthermore, they have a belt at the level of their kidney which hangs around the front. They attach it with windings around the prepuce [302] which is not circumcised, although some people have hinted they were Jews. They do not crudely perform indecent actions in front of people; this is not what some people, cruder than the Caribs, attempt to make us believe. I should say for their honor, and to make the Christians ashamed, that I have never seen them perform a shameful action in front of people. [227]

302 [245] The Caribs plant bichet trees near their houses, for otherwise the birds would spoil them. They make urucu from the fruit of this tree. It produces its fruit in bunches, the fruit looking like the stone of a peach although it is not so hard. They boil it in water and when the water is tepid they rub this fruit between their hands in the water. The paint falls to the bottom and makes a layer like wax. They mix it with powder from charred sandle wood, because otherwise its brilliance would hurt their eyes. Then they add oil to the mixture, and redden themselves often with it. This is their best shirt. This paint fills their pores, prevents seawater from drying on their body, and also repels the mosquitos and kills chiggers. [79] They crush urucu on a flat stone in the same way our painters use a marble slab. They mix it with oil and make a mask on their face as thick as a 30 sous coin, when they go to a drinking party. [240] When a man plans to go to a feast he will stand up and his wife draws curves and lines from the shoulders down to the buttocks. She covers the back, arms, and chest with fanciful designs which are not unpleasant to look at. However, I have more admired the man's patience than the painting itself, for the man sometimes remains standing for twelve hours. [231] Women also draw designs on hammocks and calabashes, but our painters would be likely to question calling these women artists. [89] There is a soot produced by elemi gum being burned under a large pot or some other earthenware vessel. They brush the soot off with a feather. This is the most beautiful black it is possible to find. Boys and girls keep some of it in small calabashes in order to paint themselves with it when they go to feasts. After they have washed well and wiped their faces they dip a small brush in it and draw very delicate lines above their eyelashes and along their eyelids. Others draw Spanish mustaches which they draw twisted on their cheeks in an infinity of scrolls. They also draw a thousand other sketches to prevent their recognition by anyone they meet. [44] They have a special mirror in front of their eyes in order to draw a more amusing and grotesque design. [174] One could scarcely find a Carib who did not have a small mirror for use when he ornaments himself before a feast, and also for use in discovering and pressing the small pimples which come to their faces. [286]

The young girls and boys have a lock of hair on their foreheads. This is cut straight across. Men and women have their forehead and [304] the front part of their head flattened in order to make it more beautiful. If they chanced to be sick in their infancy at the time their head was soft and it could not be shaped in this way, they are supposed to be ugly.

stomach of the child and that it would inherit the natural weaknesses of the animals which the father had eaten. For example, if the father ate tortoise the child would be deaf and would have no more brains than this animal and if he ate manatee the child's eyes would resemble those of this animal i.e., small and round. There are many similar examples of the same thing.

Finally, during all of this time they have absolutely no intercourse with their wives. Brutality, weakness, and unbridled lust, typical of the greater part of our Christians, is sufficiently restrained by these barbarians who have neither faith nor religion. In addition, as soon as their wives conceive they have no further intercourse.

The women also fast during the time after the birth of their child, but not so rigorously as their husbands. They prepare themselves by this means and take great care to flatten the foreheads of their babies while the bone is still pliable. They push in the nose to make it flat. However, many of them may be found who have aquiline noses which look just like the noses of the French.

Eight days after the six month period the father invites one of his most intimate friends to be the godfather of his son, or if the child is a girl, the friend is called a godmother. They have a small banquet and then cut a little hair from the head of the child. They pierce the ear lobe and also the septum of the nose and they pass two or three threads of cotton through the hole to make certain that the wound will not mend itself. Next they pierce the lower lip. If they think that the child is too weak to stand this pain they postpone the piercing and content themselves with cutting its hair. This being done they give the child the name which will be his for life [but] which does not prevent the taking of other names. But that name will be with him always and in recognition of the fact the father and mother of the child anoint the neck and head of the godfather or godmother with oil of palmetto.

It is astonishing to see how few Carib children are deformed considering the fact that their mothers never swaddle them; in this respect the Carib women would be able to mock at our French women who pamper their children. When the children have gained strength through their mother's milk they are then given some sweet potatoes or bananas which are first chewed by the mothers and then put into the mouths of their babies.

302 he imagined it had been put there to sit upon. For this reason he took it from the table and put it on the bench. Then he sat on it. Realizing that everyone was laughing about it, he became angry and made us understand, indirectly, that he did not know how to behave among the French and would never return to visit us again.

This paint, although light, is useful, for it protects from sunburn and from brine which dries up and burns the skin, and warms them in the cold of the night. The chief benefit is the protection it offers against the mosquitos.

They don't wear a beard but rather pluck it hair by hair with the point of a knife, as I have said. If there is some left they shave it [828] with a grass which cuts like a razor. They all wear long hair like the women of Europe, and let a part of it hang on their forehead. It is cut like that of small girls. They also have strands of hair hanging past their temples. The rest of it is drawn to the back, combed, and adjusted neatly with a cotton string. At the end of this string are [fastened] either small tufts, thimbles, crystal, small white ornaments, or similar trinkets. In this truss of hair they stick feathers of all colors and sometimes make crowns around their heads with them.

304 All of the Caribs have their ears, lower lip, and septum of the
301 nose pierced. They pass long parrot feathers through the nose, which take the place of mustaches. They sometimes suspend from these feathers, small strips of brass as large as a fingernail. They pass hooks through their ear holes and through the holes in their lower lip. They wear long necklaces which hang to their stomachs. These necklaces are usually made with the teeth of agouti, cats, or leopards, and are very neatly strung on cotton cord. They also wear a whistle hung from the neck, made from the bone of an enemy.

301 The ornaments they prize the most are the caracolis or coulloucoli,
#39 small strips of a low quality gold metal. It [the metal] has the quality of neither corroding nor tarnishing and this is the reason why the Caribs prize it so highly. Only the captains or their children wear them. It has been thought that these caracolis come from the islands of Hispaniola, otherwise called Santo Domingo. However, the Caribs assert the contrary and say they get them in trade from their enemies whom they call Allouagues. By means of certain agreements which the Caribs have with members of that nation, the caracolis are obtained

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13 (1650-1700)

342 Men slept in this structure; they and the boys ate, worked, and passed the time of day there. Women, however, entered only to serve the men.

Women's houses were each about half the size of the carbet. Their construction was the same, except that each had only a single doorway and was provided with a reed partition separating the room where the women and children slept from the kitchen.

The storage platforms were built on piles and roofed, but open on the sides.

352 **Household furniture.**—Mats were used to cover the doorways of the houses. Within, hammocks were the chief articles of furniture (pl. 93). Made of a network of cotton thread, they were 6 feet (1.8 m.) long and 12 feet (3.6 m.) wide. The ends were tied by cords to two posts in the wall of the dwelling; often the cords extended along the sides of the hammock as decoration. Some hammocks were painted red or black. They had a small packet of ash at each end, which was believed to make them last longer. Small wooden tables and stools were used in many houses; some had cabinets in which to store weapons and utensils. The rafters also were a favorite storage place.

[434] When on canoe trips the *Carib* made temporary shelters by erecting posts, to which they attached hammocks, covering them with a roof of palm leaves.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 **Clothing, hairdress, and toilet.**—Like the *Arawak*, the *Carib* had no clothing except for a small cotton apron worn by women over their genitals (pl. 93). In historic times this was ornamented with beads. Every
382 morning men washed themselves and sat in the carbet while the women combed their hair, anointing it with oil, and painted their bodies red. The women then dressed themselves in the same manner. The paint, urucú (roucou), was made by mixing oil with boiled and ground seeds from the bixa plant. It was brushed over the whole body, partially for decoration and partially as a protection against insects. On ceremonial occasions men also used black paint made from genipa; they had their wives paint it in streaks over their faces and bodies, using tiny hair brushes.

[432] Rich black hair was considered a sign of beauty. Both men and women wore it long, cutting only the part above the eyes. They let it hang free or sometimes bunched part of it on the back of the head, tying it with a cotton cord and decorating it with tail feathers of the macaw (arara). Only slaves had their hair cut short in the *Arawak* manner. Men plucked their beards, which they considered a deformity.

304 **Deformation and scarification.**—A mother flattened both the forehead and the back of her child's head. The *Carib* pierced the ears, nasal septa, and lower lip for the insertion of fishbones, feathers, stone pendants, or pieces of wood, stone, or shell. They used the latter only temporarily.

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13 (1650-1700)

when not wearing the caracoli described below. During ceremonies men 304
scarified their bodies, later staining the scars black. Native-born women were distinguished from captives by wearing anklets made of basketry interwoven with cotton. The anklets were assumed at puberty, and as the wearers grew they became tighter and caused the ankles to swell.

Ornaments.—Both sexes wore bracelets made of cotton or of beads 301
of stone, crystal, bone, seed, coral, shell, or a pearllike substance obtained in shells. Men placed these bracelets around their upper arms and women around the wrists. Both men and women often wore necklaces and girdles of the same materials; it was from the girdles that women hung their aprons. Men sometimes inserted teeth and bones from the enemies they had killed into their necklaces and bracelets. On their chests both [778]
sexes hung small amulets of wood or stone carved to represent their maboya (evil spirits) and designed to frighten away other malevolent powers. Small gourd fetishes, containing bird claws and bits of jaguar skin obtained on the mainland, were also used as pendants.

The most prized possession of the men was the caracoli, a crescent-shaped alloy of gold and copper framed in wood, which the warriors obtained during raids upon the continental *Arawak* (pl. 93). Some of these caracoli were small and served as ear, nose, or mouth pendants; others were large enough to be worn on the chest. They were a sign of [534]
high rank, being passed down from generation to generation, and were worn only upon ceremonial occasions and during journeys. Certain stone necklaces, the material for which was obtained on the mainland, were also [755]
prized. They were said to have had healing virtue and were worn only during feasts. Upon ceremonial occasions men decorated their hair with feather caps and crowns and their backs with jaguar skins; some rubbed their bodies with gum and sprinkled feathers upon them.

TRANSPORTATION

The *Carib* were expert in the management of boats, of which they had 501
four types: pirogues, large canoes, small canoes, and rafts. Both the pirogues and the canoes were dugouts, but the sides of the former were built up with planks, sewn together and pitched with bitumen. The average length of the pirogue was 40 feet (12 m.); some were large enough to carry 50 persons. Each one had a keel, a raised and pointed bow, a series of plank seats, and a flat-pooped stern carved with an animal's head (maboya) to frighten the enemy and often decorated with a barbecued human arm. The larger variety of canoe was 20 feet (6 m.) long. It, too, had a series of seats and also thwarts against which the paddlers leaned their backs. Both the stem and the stern were high and pointed; there were holes in the gunwales to which the travelers could attach their belongings. The smaller type of canoe was just large enough for one

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13
(1650-1700)

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and childhood.—Sexual intercourse was forbidden during pregnancy. The birth often took place by a fire. If it caused trouble, the woman drank juice made from a certain root. Afterward she washed the child in a stream and placed it in a tiny hammock or on a couch of leaves. If the birth had taken place at night, the men of the house bathed themselves so that the child would not catch cold.

For several days after birth the mother fasted, eating only dried cassava and drinking warm water. The father, on the other hand, practiced the couvade. Immediately after the birth he complained of pains, went to a separate hut, and lay in a hammock. He remained there for at least 40 days after the birth of his first child, and for 4 or 5 days after the birth of other children. During this time he went out only at night and avoided meeting anyone for fear that they might tempt him to break his fast, thereby making the mother sick and the child cowardly. At first he took no food. After 5 days he was permitted to drink corn beer and after 10 days to eat manioc bread in increasing quantities. He ate only the insides of the bread, the crusts being hung up in the hut until the end of the 40-day period, when they served as the basis for a feast in the village carbet. Preceding the feast the father was brought into the carbet, was stood on two large flat cakes of cassava, and was scarified by two men chosen by the carbet chief. A mixture of urucú, pepper seeds, and tobacco juice was rubbed into the cuts, and the blood which fell from them was daubed on the face of the child so that he would have the courage shown by the father in undergoing scarification. The man was then fed the two cassava cakes upon which he had stood and also fish, which he had to spit out. He went back to bed for several days and had to abstain from the flesh of animals for a period of 6 months or a year, lest the child become deformed.[1]

The child received its first name 12 or 15 days after birth from a friend of the father who acted as godfather or godmother. The name was taken from that of an ancestor, from nature, or from something that had happened during birth, pregnancy, or the couvade. If the baby were strong enough to bear it, his ears, nose, and lips were pierced at the same time, but this might be deferred until 2 years had passed, when the child's hair was cut.

At first all children ate with the mother; when 4 or 5 years old the boys began to eat in the men's house. The fathers spent much time in training their sons in hunting, fishing, swimming, singing, basketry, making canoes, and particularly in shooting the bow and arrow, at which they had

[1] The accounts of the couvade vary considerably from source to source. The above version is taken largely from Davies (1666, pp. 330-331), with supplemental data from La Borde (1856, pp. 240-250).

8: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1950
ST13 Callinago ST13

These retreats and fasts culminated in a blood-letting ritual which was particularly severe in the case of an adult who had become a father for the first time, or in that of one who had "killed some Arawak." A chicken-hawk was sacrificed by crushing its head against that of the man, who then stood upon a pile of cassava-cakes whose centres only he had eaten during his fast, while his back was scarified with an aguti-tooth lancet until the blood ran down, and then rubbed with a decoction containing tobacco-juice, rocou-leaves (*Bixa orellana*), and the seeds of red-peppers (*Capsicum*) crushed together with the body of the sacrificed bird. Subsequently, he was given the latter's dried heart to eat, and finally had to take a drastic emetic (usually tobacco-juice) which made him "rendre tripes et boudins." After having undergone this ordeal, he had to fast for some days longer—although he might be "fed like a child" with some of his blood-soaked cassavas—while the others got drunk at his expense. Adolescents were treated somewhat more gently; but they too brought their sacrificial bird, and had their backs scarified; after which they had to remain fasting for some further time in their hammocks, and without changing the posture in which their sponsors had placed them, under pain of becoming deformed.[8]

Before attempting to interpret the somewhat complex syndrome of contagious magic implied by the foregoing review of seventeenth-century practices, it will be as well to set forth, in brief, the current forms of dietary and occupational restrictions found among the Dominica remnant of the Island Carib tribes and their more vigorous Central American offshoot, and the occasions for their application.

Blood-letting rituals such as that described above no longer exist, even in legend, among either of these groups.[9] Nor are adolescents or neophytes subjected by them to any special regimen. On the other hand, dietary or occupational restrictions—or both—are required of the new parent of either sex, of the bereaved spouse (particularly in the case of a wife who loses her husband), and of menstruating women. It is perhaps worth noting that, nowadays, those placed on men concern *only* activities, whereas those placed on women concern *mainly* diet.

From the Black Carib of British Honduras, it was learned that:

> Once a woman knows herself to be pregnant .... both she and her mate must refrain from killing or eating the flesh of certain animals. An informant recounted how his uncle once had killed a snake in his garden, while a woman—not even a "partner"—was pregnant for him; and how, as a result, the child had been still-born, with flat head and nose and small eyes like those of a snake. In another case, it was said that a

[8] Mainly from Breton, 1892, pp. 202-203.

[9] As a personal practice, however, many hunters, in order to have luck in the chase, draw blood from their arms by making a series of close, superficial cuts with a razor-blade.

9: Ober N-5 (1876-1878) 1895
ST13 Callinago ST13

in shape they are robust, well-formed, with
142 small hands and feet, in color decidedly light, and some even fair, their complexion being of a yellowish cast. They make canoes and woven baskets, after the manner of the aborigines, are skilled fishers and sometimes hunters, and are altogether trusty and superior in many respects to the blacks.

291 Several writers have described the Caribs during various periods in their history since coming into notice, but I will select from them one who wrote about two hundred years ago, whose pages bear every evidence of honesty and authenticity. At that time the English were mainly in possession of the islands. He says: "They go stark naked, both men and women; though the Christians have conversed very much amongst them, yet have all their persuasions to induce them to cover themselves been to no purpose. . . .
302 They change their natural color by dyeing their bodies with roucou, which makes them red all over. . . . They also
301 adorn the crown of the head with a little hat made of bird's feathers of different colors. . . . They bore their ears,
304 nose, lips, for the insertion of ornaments. . . . About
291 their necks they wear necklaces made of the bones of their enemies, teeth of agoutis, etc. . . . On great occasions, they wear scarfs and girdles of feathers. . . . Their most valued ornaments were gorgets of copper, obtained from the Arrowaks by plunder, crescent-shaped and shining, and
[429] these are, most frequently, the only possessions they leave their children at death. . . . They wear cotton cloth and
291 can dye it in various colors, chiefly red; they had hammocks when found by Columbus. . . . They made fine
328 pottery, which they baked in kilns, and also wove fine
[341] baskets. . . . They cultivated their land in common. . . .
766 They buried the corpse of a chief, or head of a family, in
775 the centre of his own dwelling. . . . Their heaven seems to have been a sort of Mohammedan paradise of houris and harems for the brave. . . . They raised rustic altars,
600 placing upon them fruits and flowers. . . . The Caribs have

9: Ober N-5 (1876-1878) 1895
ST13 Callinago ST13

The Caribs have an ancient and natural language, such as is peculiar to them, and also a bastard speech, with foreign words, chiefly Spanish, intermixed. Among themselves they always use the natural language, in conversing with Christians the bastard speech. . . . The women also have a different speech from the men. . . . It hath been observed that the men are less amorous than the women; both are naturally chaste; and when those of other nations look even earnestly at them, and laugh at their nakedness, they were wont to say to them, 'you are to look on us only between both the eyes.' . . . Yet, it must be confessed that some have degenerated from that chastity, and many other virtues of their ancestors, the Europeans having taught them many vices,—to the perpetual infamy of the Christian name. . . . They are great lovers of cleanliness, bathing every day; are generous, hospitable and honest. . . . It is also a manifest truth, confirmed by daily experience in America, that the holy sacrament of baptism being conferred on these savages, the devil never beats or torments them afterwards as long as they live.[1]

"The Carib boys were compelled to pierce their food suspended from a tree with an arrow, before they could eat it. . . . They are said to have used poisoned arrows, dipping them in what must have been the urrari poison, obtained from Guiana. . . . Like many natives, they eradicated the beard and the hair on other parts of the body. . . . They compressed the skulls of new-born infants; and a hatred of the Arrowaks was instilled. . . . Their cabins were built of poles fixed circularly in the ground and drawn together at the top, covered with palm leaves, and in the centre of each village was a building larger than the others for public assemblage.

"The Caribbeans are a handsome, well-shaped people, of a smiling countenance, middle stature, having broad shoulders

[1] See Davies's "History of the Caribby Islands." London, 1666.

9: Ober N-5 (1876-1878) 1895
ST13 Callinago ST13

182 and large buttocks, and most of them in good plight. Their mouths are not over large, and their teeth are perfectly white and close. True it is, their complexion is of an olive
● [304] color, naturally; their foreheads and noses are flat, not naturally, but by artifice; for their mothers crush them down at their birth, as also during the time they suckle them, imagining it a kind of beauty and perfection. . . . They have large and thick feet, because they go barefoot, and
782 withal so hard that they defie woods and rocks. . . . They believed in evil spirits, and sought to propitiate them by
773 presents of game, fruits, etc. They believe that they have as many souls as they feel beatings of the arteries in their bodies, besides the principal one, which is in their heart, and goes to heaven with its god, who carries it thither, to live with other gods; and they imagine they there live the same life as man lives here below. For they do not think the soul to be so far immaterial as to be invisible; but they affirm it to be *subtile*, and of thin substance, as a purified body; and they have but the same word to signify heart and soul. Other souls, not in the heart, reside in the forest and by the seashore; the former they called *Maboyas*, the latter *Oumalous*. . . . They believe they go after death to live in certain
775 fortunate islands, where they have Arrowak slaves to serve them, swim unwearied in placid streams, and eat of delicious
821 fruits. . . . Of the thunder, God's voice, they are extremely
764 afraid. They were prone to leave their houses (huts) after
767 the death of an inmate. It is related, that a young Carib, having been converted to Christianity and taken to France, where he was shown many strange things, at which he showed no astonishment, returned to his tribe, threw off the clothes of civilization, and painted his body with *roucou*, be-
46 coming as wild a savage as before. . . . As to the division of labor, the men made the huts and kept them in repair, procured fish and game, also labored some in the fields; the women attended to the domestic duties, painted their husbands with roucou, and spun the cotton yarn, wove ham-
mocks, etc.

9 Ober N-5 (1876-1878) 1895
ST13 Callinago ST13

the Caribbees," so that I will not further quote, than to point out that he says:

"The difference in the language of the two sexes is more striking among the people of the Carib race than among any other American nations. The pride of the Caribs led them to withdraw themselves from every other tribe, even from those with whom, by their language, they have affinity." It may be added, however, that this difference of language as between the sexes, among the Caribs, was supposed to have its origin in the fact that the women were of the Arawak tribes, captured by the Caribs, while the males were killed. "Among the true Caribs," says Im Thurn, "a two-inch broad band of cotton is knitted round each ankle, and just below the knee of every young female child, and this band is never removed during life, or if removed, is immediately replaced. The consequence is that the muscles of the calf swell out to an abnormal degree between these bands," etc. This peculiarity, of the swollen calf, was noticed among the Caribs by the first discoverers, in 1493. "Every man wears a long strip of cloth between the legs and fastened to a belt, and the women a short apron, tied by strings around the waist. This apron is usually made of beads or of bright-colored seeds, in conventional patterns . . . The men also wear a necklace of white and shining peccary teeth, as well as an armlet . . . They paint their bodies and pull out all hairs not on the scalp. . . . For staining their skins and hammocks, the men use *furuak*,—the deep red pulp around the seeds of the anatto (*Bixa orellana*),—as when first discovered. As ornaments, the true Caribs wear crescent-shaped nose-pieces and ear-distenders, as well as lip ornaments, crowns of feathers, feather ruffs, and short mantles of woven cotton ornamented with feathers. The women are less given to ornament, except that they wear great girdles of beads and bright seeds, etc.; and as a tribe, they are not prone to wear European clothing, save as single garments, occasionally, and beads. . . .

291 against insect bites, but which gave them the appearance, as many
[303] travellers reported, of a boiled crayfish. Later their dress consisted,
for both sexes, of a cord passed around the body, holding a loin-cloth
smaller than a pocket-handkerchief. The men and the young boys
[412] always wore a sharpened knife between the cord and the thigh. Today
the surviving Caribs lack picturesqueness; in contact with the white
[17] and black creoles, they have taken over their clothing. The men
wear trousers and a shirt; the women wear a long dress of a light color,
similar to those in which the negresses dress. Like the latter, their
heads are covered with a madras kerchief. Only the children of both
sexes go about clothed in a short shirt or completely naked. Former-
● [304] ly it was the custom, shortly after birth, to deform their heads by
flattening the skulls by means of a small board.

301 The Carib women do not actually seem very coquettish, and
wear few ornaments, though at the time when the roucou was their
only piece of clothing, they did not neglect ornaments; they adorned
themselves with necklaces, and bracelets, and at adolescence they
wove for themselves a kind of legging which they wore around the leg
between the calf and the ankle, and which they never took off. Even
the men adorned themselves, on important occasions, with metal
ornaments called caracoli, which they wore in their ears, nostrils,
lower lips, and on the chest, not to speak of the black stripes which
they sometimes painted on their faces and bodies or the multicolored
plumes with which they adorned themselves.

157 The Caribs are not very expansive and melancholy is the basis
of their character; their faces bear the mark of sadness and disdain.
They are vindictive, and never forget their injuries, and are partic-
ularly formidable when they are under the influence of alcoholic
[273] drinks (1), for which they have a great weakness. Cherishing their

1. Before the Europeans brought alcohol to them, they made themselves a fermented beverage, called ouycou.

independence above all, servitude is distasteful to them and they do not wish to lose their liberty at any price. /137/ Merciless toward their enemies, they are kind and generous to their friends and are
442 very cordial in the exercise of hospitality. Of an unconcerned dis-
position, the men spend entire days in doing nothing, asleep in their

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

custom) men did not have intercourse with a woman while she was pregnant; though whether this was intended (like the post-puerperal sexual abstinence recorded by Breton) to safeguard the child, he does not say. The modern Carib does not rationalize this custom, but says it is a matter of taste. §34

Soon after a child is born [writes Breton] the woman chosen for that purpose reshapes its head by kneading, widening the crown and bringing it down in an equal slope to the eyes, so that the forehead is on a line with the rest. 304 ● 846

The mother endeavored to maintain this shape by exerting pressure on the child's head whenever it was asleep on her lap.

Children were named "unofficially" at birth by their mothers or grandmothers. Later—Breton says eight days, Rochefort twelve to fifteen days, and Du Tertre six months and eight days after birth—a man and a woman were chosen as sponsors to impose a "true" name on the child. It was also they who pierced its ears, underlip, and the division of its nostrils (for the future wearing of kanikuli, etc.). The "baby-name," or rather an abbreviated form of it together with that of the father, was the one employed in reference, etc. Thus Kay'-lirahl-ime stood for Kay'mene (baby-name) lirahl (*his child*) 'Imeruli (father's baby-name). (This custom still obtains, Hamilton the son of Nicolas being currently spoken of as Ham-Nini.) The true name might be retained or changed in after life, but it must be kept secret from all but intimates. 553 852

After the birth of his first child, the Island Carib father practised what we now call the couvade; and explained this custom by saying that should he omit it, not only would others scorn him, but he would the sooner get old and infirm himself, while his new-born child also would suffer. However, under the heading ilwenumitabu *mon premier né, le sujet de mon jeune* (also *phantaisie*: cf. ilwinetu *a dream*; ilwenúmali *a fast*), Breton states that these facts were practised "particularly at the death of one of their family, at the coming of the first child, and at the capture of an enemy, etc." Moreover they did not necessarily begin coincidentally with the accouchement, etc.: "on the contrary I have seen them come from without, stealthily and in secret a month after the birth, to perform their retreat and fasts." Elsewhere we read of similar prescriptions for candidates for a chiefrainship, for would-be shamans, and for girls at the time of their first menses. Ordinarily, these fasts consisted in the faster's lying up in his hammock and abstaining from all food and drink for five days, and from all but boiled cassava drink for another four (Breton). According to Du Tertre, after the first five days besides drinking wiku men ate the centers of cassava-cakes whose outer rims were then strung up and reserved for the eliminak festival. After these nine days they ate manioc-starch cassava-cakes as much as 785 [846]

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

they liked for a further period of two or three months, and thereafter only continued to abstain from certain activities and meats for some time.

When the child began to be given fish to eat at about the age of two years, its hair was cut for the first time ceremonially, and its mother's temples shaved. The piercing of its ears, etc., apparently also took place at this ceremony (nikulukáyanų, nibukaétių) which, according to Breton's description, was held concurrently with an elétuak festival.

The latter appears to have been a family rather than a tribal affair, although intended for the carrying out of all the *rites de passage*, such as initiation of infants (into the tribe) and adolescents (into manhood), and for the purification and reintegration of those who had for the first time become parents or had killed an enemy.

> Il y a peu de Sauvages qui ayent femmes et enfans, qui ne fassent ce festin icy, qui est un de leurs plus solemnels: ils sont quelque fois des quatre mois à s'y préparer, on y rase le poil des tempes aux femmes, et à leur petits enfans ausquels on commence d'y faire manger du poisson.

Besides large quantities of wiku to be prepared for the feathered dancers (eletuakátių tiomálitu) and guests, basketry tables (matútu) and other utensils for the rites must be made, and those asked to help by making them (itawínamuku) repaid for their trouble by a special drinking-party (itehwennə). Moreover, after the elétuak festival all such articles were held to be fair plunder for the guests.

The name, elétuak, appears to connote *a putting out from* or *forth-putting*, (cf. élaletuáiba *incise! let [blood]!* < ile *power, strength;* and as a stem: *choose, extend, endure:* élale *speech* or *flame;* átu[ta] *[to]put forth);* and the essential part of the rites performed on these occasions consisted in blood-letting.[6] Breton goes on to describe them thus:

> . . . les grands, voire les mariez apportent quand et eux des oyseaux de rapine, les petits des petits, les mariez des gros et grands qu'ils ont pris dans le nid et nourris pour ce mystère. Le capitaine qui est prié pour cela prend les oyseaux et leur casse la teste aux leurs testes qui en restent enanglantées. Il incise les petits et les grands, mène les petits dans leurs lits qui y doivent demeurer sans manger, et en la posture qu'il leur donne, sans laquelle ils croyent qu'ils demeureroient bossus ou contrefais, suivant celle qu'ils prendroient dans ce lit [i. e. hammock]. On écrase les oyseaux des grands (s'ils ont eu enfant, ou s'ils ont tué quelque Arrouäguе) avec quantité de gros grains de poivre [*Capsicum*], ou pimant [< Carib, boémwę *Capsicum* <

6 Hunters still make many cuts in their arms to improve their luck, while incision and cupping are practised to relieve pain.

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

591 (1) Father; mother; married daughter, her husband and their children; two
592 unmarried daughters, both with children; one unmarried son.

Three other married daughters have separate establishments in the immediate vicinity, as does one married son. Another married son lives with his wife's family some miles away, and one married daughter lives with her husband's people.

(2) Widowed mother; married daughter, her husband, and their children; widowed son; grandson (the latter is the son of another married daughter who has a separate neighboring establishment).

The widowed son's children live with their maternal grandmother.

(3) Father; mother; mother's pre-marital married daughter with her pre-marital son and her husband; mother's pre-marital son; unmarried daughter and her children; son; small son; small daughter.

586 Legal divorce is unknown to these Caribs, though they apply the word "divorce" to any separation between couples married legally or otherwise, of which there are several examples. In one case the wife left her husband because of ill-treatment; in another the husband abandoned his wife and fled to Guadeloupe (where he remarried) because he was in trouble with the English law; while yet another husband "divorced" because he could not get on with his wife's mother. Separation on grounds of sexual infidelity is very rare—chiefly because such a reason is considered too trivial to break up the union. Widows and widowers are free to remarry as and when they please.

585 Newly married couples as such are subject to no special restrictions, nor is
[604] there any formal avoidance of parents-in-law. Customs and beliefs affecting
[594] behavior at the menstrual period, during pregnancy, and after childbirth have been discussed in another paper.[7] In as far as the latter concern the father as well as the mother, they show vestiges of the couvade.

847 As illegitimate children and their parents are in no way stigmatized, abortion
844 is rare and generally condemned (although on account of changing economic conditions it appears to be now on the increase). Parturition takes place in a
[827] crouching position, usually with the aid of the parturient's mother or of some old sage-femme, who employs massage and various herbal teas or potions (such as a draught of a boy's urine) if she considers it necessary to hasten labor. When she has cut and bound the navel cord, and bathed the child, the sage-femme (or
[304] maternal grandmother) takes the infant on her lap, and inserts a finger under

7 Douglas Taylor, *Carib Folk-Beliefs and Customs from Dominica, B. W. I.* (Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, vol. 1, pp. 387-330, 1945), p. 319.

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

its tongue "to break the thread" (?) so that it may the sooner learn to speak. Then she stretches the limbs, pinches the nose, and "gives the head a nice shape" by pressing the forehead with her thumb-pads upward and backward from the supraorbital ridges toward the crown. This proceeding is continued by massaging the forehead, using a circular and upward motion of the palm of the hand. No measures are taken today to maintain the head-shape thus given, and "only old-timers bother to make a child look nice, nowadays." A bulbous or protruding forehead is considered ugly.

The accouchée has to submit to a strict regime for forty days, but the newborn child is suckled in what to us is a haphazard way, given arrowroot or *Canna* starch and herbal teas from the start, and handled by all members of the household.

The baby-name given to the child at birth is today that by which it is registered; while the "true" name, chosen by the sponsor of like sex, is that now given in baptism. This rite, at which the parents do not assist, usually takes place a month or so after birth, and is followed by either a feast or dance or both. Godparents are chosen rather for their social or economic status than for any spiritual qualities. The relationship is, however, taken very seriously, and parents and godparents address one another as "compère" and "commère." The ears of female infants are pierced and a thread passed through the hole in order to keep it open until such time as rings are acquired.

Apart from the baby-name and patronymic (baptismal names are, at least among older Caribs, not easily divulged) modern Caribs are supposed to have surnames, which they call *titres titles*. But these are infrequently and irregularly employed, and usually consist of the given name of a grandfather or greatgrandfather. Brothers sometimes bear different "titles"! Illegitimate children take their father's name (as patronymic) and "title."

As soon as they learn to walk, Carib children follow their mothers or big sisters to the river morning and evening, and so acquire early a taste for bathing and the habit of carrying little calabashes of water or other loads more in play than in earnest. Soon their fathers or big brothers make for them tiny carry-alls (shoulder-baskets), traps, fishing rods, etc., so that play and work merge into one another. One of the few non-utilitarian amusements—for some grown-ups as well as for children—is to "run the waves" (courir lames), a local variety of surf-riding which Breton also recorded. When available, the "tote" of a canoe—a plank seat about 9 inches wide by 2½ to 3 ft long—is used; but with a favorable surf, very good "rides" may be had without it, merely by stiffening the body and using the outstretched hands as a rudder.